

May, 1988

Center for Slavic and East European Studies

Newsletter

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NOTES FROM THE CHAIR

It is time once again to wish all faculty, students and friends of the Center a very pleasant summer.

I want to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the scholars who have visited our campus for extended periods this year, contributing through research and/or teaching to the Slavic and East European area community. We at the Center salute in particular a number of scholars from Hungary, including Dr. Attila Harmathy (law), Dr. György Lengyel, (economics and sociology), Dr. András Sajó (economics), and Dr. Károly Soós (economics). We also thank Jonathan Haslam (political science), and our two Mellon post-doctoral fellows, Michael Gelb (history), and Lisa Knapp (Slavic languages and literatures). We look forward to seeing you in Berkeley again!

George Breslauer, Chair of the Center

SEWERYN BIALER ON "THE EDUCATION AND PROGRESS OF MIKHAIL GORBACHEV"

By Matthew Trail, Graduate Student
In the Department of Political Science

On April 21 at Alumni House, in a talk that was both broad-ranging and Kremlinological, the man many regard as the West's foremost Sovietologist termed the current struggle over perestroika in the Soviet Union a "nonviolent civil war," generated by a confluence of crises in the economic, social and political spheres. Seweryn Bialer, Director of Research, Institute on International Change, and Belfer Professor of International Relations at Columbia University, stressed that the combination of these crises with a succession period had pushed forward a new leadership generation. He stated that the primary task of these leaders was to recentralize political authority before they could safely contemplate extensive reforms that would devolve decision-making powers to lower levels.

Dr. Bialer suggested that the current disputes over Gorbachev's controversial program of perestroika can be interpreted as a conflict among the "paired concepts" of equity vs. liberty, equality vs. efficiency, and monopoly vs. competition. Gorbachev has fought for his program in the realms of power consolidation, control over the policy agenda, and policy implementation and has faced increased opposition as he has "concretized" his proposals. This struggle has been reflected in such recent incidents as the "Yeltsin Affair" and the ideological dispute in the pages of Pravda and Sovetskaiia Rossiia. The conservative forces, led by Politburo members Ligachev and Vorotnikov, have apparently overestimated their strength at the highest levels, and Gorbachev appears to have staged a successful counter-attack, at least for the time being. The longer-term prospects for an effective perestroika, Dr. Bialer concluded, are less certain. The key 19th Party Conference, scheduled for June, will be an important measure of both Gorbachev's and perestroika's fortunes.

UPDATE ON ETHNIC DISPUTES IN ARMENIA AND AZERBAIJAN

By Mark Saroyan, Graduate Student
In the Department of Political Science

"THERE IS NO WAY BACK!" Thus read one of the large, well-fashioned banners held up by tens of thousands of Armenian demonstrators in Stepanakert, capital of Mountainous Garabagh, as they met en masse with two candidate members of the Politburo to demand the annexation of their province to Armenia. Within weeks of the unprecedented public protests by Armenians in both Armenia and Azerbaijan, central authorities in Moscow developed a seven-year, 400,000,000-ruble plan for the social, economic and cultural development of Garabagh, the Armenian-populated province located within the Azerbaijani republic. Reactions to the plan have been ambiguous in Armenia. In contrast, Armenians in Stepanakert responded by staging massive strikes that have lasted two weeks and only now seem to be abating. Vital food services have been maintained, but the strikes brought rail transport to a standstill and, according to TASS, have bankrupted four of the province's major industrial enterprises.

The massive, public character of the movement to annex Mountainous Garabagh to Armenia was striking. Activism on the Garabagh issue during the early 1960s was limited chiefly to the cultural intelligentsia. Today's movement involves workers and peasants, enterprise managers and individual party officials as well as the traditionally active intellectuals. In Garabagh itself, not only did the provincial soviet pass a resolution favorable to annexation, but the provincial party committee, contradicting the CPSU Central Committee's stated position against any territorial changes, issued a resolution in mid-March calling for unification with Armenia. As a result of the activism in the 1960s, numerous Garabagh Armenian intellectuals were "forced into emigration," that is, forced to emigrate from Azerbaijan to the neighboring Soviet Armenian republic. What are the authorities in Baku--or Moscow--to do now that virtually the entire Armenian population of Mountainous Garabagh has actively supported annexation?

The peaceful Armenian demonstrations and the violent Azerbaijani reactions to Armenian claims have undoubtedly provoked Gorbachev and his moscow-based colleagues into rethinking the USSR's "nationalities question." The same should hold for Western specialists of Soviet politics and nationality affairs. As demonstrated by Armenians in Garabagh, party and state organizations can be employed not only as an instrument of social control, but also as a vehicle for social demands--in this case ethno-territorial claims. If nothing else, recent events in Armenia and Azerbaijan should elicit a reappraisal of traditional views of Soviet ethnic relations in which conflicts between Russians and non-Russians are seen to hold center stage. Only a few months ago the Garabagh issue and Armenian-Azerbaijani relations would have barely held the interest of analysts in Moscow, much less anywhere outside the USSR. Without due attention to the lived experience and collective values of Soviet citizens themselves, be they Armenians and Azerbaijanis or Tajiks and Uzbeks, future "Garabaghs" will continue to take us all by surprise.

Mark Saroyan has been acting as a consultant to the New York Times, National Public Radio and Voice of America on Armenian-Azerbaijani relations; he briefed Congress on the issue in March.



PROFILE: MARCIA LEVENSON
Graduate Student in the Department of Geography

Last month, Marcia Levenson took a few weeks off from writing her master's thesis. "I'm planning to do my Ph.D. research on resource management in native communities of the Soviet Arctic," she explains, "and I wanted to get a sense of feasible topics to pursue before my research gets too far." She set her compass for Leningrad and neighboring Finland and met with northern specialists and geographers in between cross-country skiing and saunas with local friends. On the way home, her flight was delayed in London. "I bumped into the man who directs Arctic research at the National Science Foundation. We spent the next couple of hours talking--about the need for research on the people who live in the Arctic--the possibilities for setting up a Soviet-American management preserve in the Bering Sea. He asked me to send him my proposal when it's done."

She attributes this sort of happy coincidence to a state of prepared readiness on her part. "In Leningrad, I was offered a chance to go to the Kara Sea region this summer with a University team studying socioeconomic problems of native Siberian peoples. For various reasons it isn't feasible, but it's one example of the spirit of glasnost I found on this last trip." She notes that Soviet academics, especially the younger ones, want to believe the rhetoric about making change. "They seem receptive to foreigners' ideas about what they could be doing differently; at the same time, perhaps they may feel that passing on requests from foreigners partially relieves them of responsibility for the content of the proposals."

Marcia hopes to get permission to conduct field study of Siberian Eskimos as part of her research on the Yupik subgroup of Soviet and American Eskimos. "I chose the Yupik as a case study because the population is divided between the Chukotka Peninsula of the USSR and US-claimed St. Lawrence Island, just 40 miles away across the Bering Sea. Here we have people of similar backgrounds, with similar problems of economic and ecological survival, living under different political systems." She believes it makes sense to study the prevailing local, regional and international relationships in order to develop appropriate mechanisms for economic planning and resource management in the region, "and to do it in a way that serves the interests of the people who live there."

Her education in history and Soviet studies at Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington, included a summer of Russian language study in the USSR. She pursued her interest in the language for another semester at the University of Leningrad. However, unlike most Ph.D. students, for whom graduate school inexorably follows undergraduate work, she then chose to see what kinds of work experiences her knowledge of Russian could yield. "Flexibility and a sense of adventure were important," she says, "but in retrospect I think there was a logical progression."

In March, 1980, she boarded a 240-foot Soviet trawler off the coast of Kodiak, Alaska, as a participating scientist in a US-USSR Cooperative Research Program of the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) Resource Assessment and Conservation Division of the US Department of Commerce. It was the first time an American, trained in Western field survey methods and fluent in Russian, had actively engaged in research with Soviet scientists. "My goal was to gain an understanding of how my Soviet partners collected, recorded and analyzed data," she says. "During our study of Alaskan fisheries and marine ecology, my ability to speak the language and to get along with Russian people helped in achieving accurate observation of the non-partisan fish." In the process, she set an NMFS record by spending 238 days at sea in a single calendar year. "I know from personal experience that scientific cooperation is one way Americans and Soviets can work together for mutual benefit,"

Continued next page

she states. "The decisions we make regarding resources and the environment of our shared frontiers--the high seas, the Arctic and Antarctica--affect the quality of our political relations."

Other jobs she held included three positions in Washington DC: one at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, coordinating and editing scholarly conferences; a second as an economic analyst at Wharton Econometric Forecasting Associates; and a third as a researcher/consultant at PlanEcon, Inc. She entered the University of California as a graduate student in the Department of Geography in January, 1986. "Geography seemed the best way for me to focus my multi-disciplinary background and to address my theoretical concerns." During her first year on campus she received support for her area studies approach in the form of a one-time Graduate Fellowship from the Slavic Center. She has just been awarded a Graduate Training Fellowship for 1988-89 from the Joint Committee on Soviet Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.

Marcia likes to think that graduate school can be the culmination of all one's experiences, on and off the job. "In my case, I took seven years out. I used that time to synthesize my broad interests into an academic program and, in the process, equipped myself with skills I needed to do Ph.D. research." She will put those skills to work this summer in Eskimo communities of Western Alaska, where she intends to gain comparative field experience for work in the Soviet north.

CENTER AND PERIPHERY IN RUSSIA'S REVOLUTIONS

By Adam Snyder, Graduate Student
In the Department of History

At a Brown Bag Lunch talk on April 20, Dr. Henry Reichman, associate professor of history, Memphis State University, and author of the recently published Railwaymen and Revolution: Russia, 1905, refuted the traditional understanding of revolutionary patterns that emphasizes the role of the capital to the exclusion of the "passive periphery." The Russian revolutions of 1905 and, to some extent, of February and October, 1917, are examples of how events in provincial capitals occurred independently from events in the central cities. He cited uprisings pre-dating the revolution of 1905, such as the Rostov general strike of 1902, in which provincial cities experienced greater "per capita unrest" than did their more documented central counterparts.

Moreover, the periphery often pressured the capitals to embark on their "triumphal march to revolution." Applying Leopold Haimson's model of dual polarization to the railwaymen, Dr. Reichman demonstrated that the provincial railway unions were consistently more radical and blue collar than were the "clerks and bureaucrats" of Moscow's union. They pursued a revolutionary path that forced the Moscow railway union into both the October general strike and the December insurrection. It seems clear that Trotsky's characterization of the railways as a revolutionary "one way street" leading from the capitals to the provinces fails to capture the totality of the revolutionary dynamic.

The revolutions of 1917 differed only in that wartime devastation of the transportation and communication systems prevented the periphery from exerting the kind of direct pressure on events in the capital that characterized 1905. Nevertheless, a combination of factors including tremendous population shifts, local issues, and the absconding of provincial administrations, led to a radicalization that kept pace with and, in many respects, outdistanced that of Petrograd and Moscow. While Trotsky missed the mark with his characterization, said Dr. Reichman, Lenin clearly understood the revolutionary potential of the

provinces. When it came time to convince his colleagues to seize power in October, Lenin cited the growing radicalization of the provincial soviets and the need to keep control over the revolutionary movement. Dr. Reichman hopes that historians will turn more of their attention toward the periphery and recognize that the Russian revolutions were not capital coups d'état but primarily working class social movements of truly national proportions.

LIBRARY NEWS

By Allan Urbanic

Guide to the collection in progress: Miranda Beaven, currently a graduate student in Russian history at Berkeley and on leave from her position as Slavic Librarian at the University of Minnesota, is surveying the strong Main Library collections relating to the Eastern Orthodox Church. Her findings will be published as a guide to the Slavic collections and will serve as a tool for further collection development.

Shared-Purchase Acquisition: Each fiscal year the University Library System sets aside a portion of its acquisitions budget to acquire publications which are intended to be shared throughout the nine-campus system. These items are usually too expensive to be absorbed by any individual library fund, yet are deemed necessary acquisitions to support the research collections of the university as a whole.

During this fiscal year, the Berkeley library was able to purchase Russian Revolutionary Pamphlets, 1860-1923 from the British Library, London, with the shared funding. This set contains 243 titles, most of which are new to the library collection. The remainder of the titles will replace copies soon to be lost to users because of their rapidly deteriorating physical condition.

Serial gaps being acquired: Funds from the Center and from the Library's Slavic acquisitions budget have been set aside to fill gaps in certain serials and newspapers, publications which for a variety of reasons had not been received through the standard acquisition routes.

An example of this kind of lacuna is the "Vspomogatel'nye ukazateli" for the series Letopis' zhurnal'nykh statei, the fundamental index to Soviet periodicals. Without these supplementary indices, which list the authors of the articles that have been cited, a user would have to go through all 52 issues of a given year, guessing at the subject under which the article might have appeared. The quarterly author index brings together all the publications by a given individual for that year, thereby eliminating the need to perform a time-consuming and inexact volume-by-volume search.

GLADIS searching conventions: Many patrons have had questions about the proper way to search serials on GLADIS. The answer depends on the type of serial that is being sought. Most serials can be searched directly using the "find title" (f ti) command; however, certain types of serial publications are not cataloged under one general title entry and call number. For example, if you were to search the series Michigan Slavic Contributions under title, you would get no results. The reason for this is that the series is actually an umbrella title for a list of books. In these cases, the individual volume is cataloged as a book and can be searched by its unique author or title. The series information is also included in the bibliographic record and is searchable on GLADIS, but through a different search command.

Try finding The Semiotics of Russian Culture by Iurii Lotman using a title search command on GLADIS. You will notice that within the record, it says that this work is no. 11 of the above mentioned series. Now try to find this book using the "find series" (f se) command and the name of the series. This demonstrates

that if at first you do not find a given series using a title search, you should try again using a series search. And also remember that if the publication date precedes 1980, be sure to search the card catalog as well. The same cataloging rules apply.

New Circulation Service: As the end of the academic year approaches, you might want to consider one other piece of business: a way to avoid returning in the fall and finding that your registration is being blocked by unpaid library fines for books you were sure you returned.

The Circulation Services of the library can now provide you with a year-end report of all books still on file as checked out to you for those units on the automated circulation system (Doe, Moffitt, and Government Documents).

Simply apply at the Service Desk on the second floor of the Main Library for an individualized "Inventory" of charged out titles. Overnight, the GLADIS computer will print a personalized "charged out to..." list which you can pick up the following day. Please understand that the "Inventory" cannot be provided while you wait, because processing of these requests on-line would cause slow response time on the GLADIS catalog.

CENTER NEWS

Executive Director Jack Kollmann will again lead a California Alumni Association tour to the USSR. The itinerary of the May trip includes Moscow, Tbilisi, Erevan, Tashkent, Khabarovsk, Irkutsk, Novosibirsk, and Leningrad. A similar tour is planned for September but already has a waiting list. Call Bear Treks at 642-3717 for information.

Administrative Assistant Vail Palomino has received a Special Performance Award (SPA) for 1988. The campus award is designed to reward the extra effort and achievements of career employees who have been at the top of their salary range for at least 12 months. Program Assistant Sonja Grueter, who was initiated into Phi Beta Kappa in February, has been accepted into UC Berkeley's School of Business for the fall semester. Our warmest congratulations, Vail and Sonja!

The Slavic Center will be seeking a fulltime Program Assistant. The job will be listed May 2-20; if you are interested in applying, contact the University Personnel Office, 2539 Channing Way, during that time period.

This is the final newsletter of the academic year; our next issue will appear in September. Whatever your summer plans may be, we hope they meet or better your expectations. See you in the fall!

FIRST TRILATERAL GRADUATE STUDENT CONFERENCE ON SOVIET AFFAIRS HELD: BSPSIB Students Participate

With the support of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, a two-day student conference on "Prospects for Change In the Soviet Union" was held at the RAND Corporation in Santa Monica, CA, on April 15-16. Sponsored by the three Rockefeller Foundation-funded Centers for the study of Soviet international behavior (Berkeley-Stanford [BSPSIB]; RAND-UCLA; and the Harriman Institute, Columbia), the event was organized exclusively by graduate students from the three programs.

The conference was designed to facilitate the exchange of information and ideas among the students. Among the 19 graduate students presenting papers were seven from Berkeley and Stanford: Richard Anderson, Russell Faeges, Jeffrey Kopstein, Jason McDonald and Matthew Trail (Berkeley), and Kimberley Marten Zisk and Lee Metcalf (Stanford). Copies of all the conference papers are available at the Center. Student organizers consider the conference a great success and hope to make it an annual event.

ASEEPL: GUIDE TO SOVIET & EAST EUROPEAN PERIODICAL LITERATURE

For several years the quarterly journal Abstracts of Soviet & East European Emigré Periodical Literature (ASEEPL), edited by Leonid Khotin, has published a guide to more than 100 émigré periodicals in native languages. The Center Reading Room has available current and back issues of ASEEPL, a valuable source of information about the Soviet Union and some East European countries.

ASEEPL is seeking volunteer writers for publication in Baltic and Armenian émigré presses. For subscription rates and other information you may contact ASEEPL at 1400 Shattuck Avenue, Suite 7, #10, Berkeley, CA 94709.

Center for Slavic and East European Studies CALENDAR OF EVENTS

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| Wed May 4
442 Stephens
NOON | <u>BROWN BAG LUNCH:</u> James Van Geldern, Mellon post-doctoral fellow at the Center for Russian and East European Studies, Stanford University, and visiting lecturer, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Stanford (spring 1988), will speak on "Early Soviet Mass Festivals, 1918-1920: Theoretical and Practical Questions." |
| Wed May 4
Sather Room
3205 Dwinelle
4 p.m. | <u>LECTURE:</u> Jonathan Haslam, visiting professor of political science, UC Berkeley, will speak at a Department of History colloquium on the topic "Maxim Litvinov and the Alternative Directions in Soviet Foreign Policy." Co-sponsored by the Slavic Center and the Department of History. |
| Mon May 9 &
Wed May 11
History Corner
Room 205
Stanford
4:15 p.m. | <u>LECTURES:</u> Edward L. Keenan, professor of history at Harvard University, will deliver the Danoff Lectures in Russian History on "Semén Shakhovskoi: The First Russian Intelligent," sponsored by the Stanford Department of History. |
| Wed May 11
442 Stephens
NOON | <u>BROWN BAG LUNCH:</u> Hans Aage, assistant professor of economics, University of Copenhagen, Denmark, and visiting scholar, Department of Economics, UC Berkeley, will talk on "The Current Soviet Debate on Income Distribution." |
| Thurs May 26
World Affairs Center
312 Sutter St SF
5:15 p.m. reception
5:45 p.m. program | <u>LECTURE:</u> Allen Kuharski, graduate student in the UCB Department of Dramatic Art, will give a talk entitled "Punished Messenger: The Future of Polish-American Exchange in the Performing Arts." For tickets and reservations call Susan Nakamura at the Council at 982-3778. |
| Wed June 1
TBA | <u>LECTURE:</u> Harvard economist John Kenneth Galbraith and Soviet economist Stanislav Menshikov, co-authors of the recently published <u>Capitalism, Communism and Coexistence: From the Bitter Past to a Better Prospect</u> (Houghton Mifflin), will speak on "Global Cooperation: Capitalism, Communism and Coexistence." The event is sponsored by the World Affairs Council. Call the Council at 982-3778 for time, location and reservations. |

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